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violence along lines of residential affinity, it would pit patrilineal kin against each other and destroy the very fabric of the kinship structure. And if the combatants aligned themselves according to kinship affiliations, strife could break out within villages and even within households. The Mundurucú situation is opposite that found in some segmentary societies, in which, following Fortes' (1945:240–47) analysis, strife between kinship-territorial units of similar scope is actually productive of social equilibrium.

The necessity for suppressing overt conflict as the only alternative to serious disruptions of social relations was complemented by the necessity for male cohesion and unity in villages whose hereditary inhabitants were the women. As a result, Mundurucú ethical values enjoined absolute harmony and cooperation upon all the males of the tribe. No such feeling was expected in interfemale relations. The female ingroup was limited to the membership of one or two extended families; beyond these limits, open jealousy and fighting could and did occur. This dichotomy in ethical values is understandable when one considers how different were the male and female social contexts.

Interpersonal and intergroup grievances will arise in all human societies as a necessary concomitant of social life, and the Mundurucú are no exception to this rule. Despite the surface tranquility of interpersonal relations among the males, numerous causes of latent antagonism existed. One potentially disruptive factor of especial significance to the problem at hand was that patrilineal succession to the chieftaincy was assured by exempting the chief's sons from the matrilocal rule. The extended family of the chief thus became the largest and most cohesive such unit in the village, for it retained sons while gathering sons-in-law. The presence of his own patrilineal kinsmen reinforced the chief's position, but it also resulted in antagonism and resentment on the part of the other men of the village, over whom he exerted no lineage-based authority. Evidence to support this statement can be found in contemporary Mundurucú society in a number of cases of sorcery accusation and punishment. In one village the chief and his son were both slain as suspected witches. In another, the family of the chief wished to execute an accused sorcerer against the will of the other residents, and in a third village the family of the chief protected one of their number against the intention of the other villagers to execute him. No evidence of such tensions would have been manifest to the casual observer in any of the three villages; the disaffected parties usually maintain cordial and cooperative relations with their antagonists both before and after the climax of the train of events, but they generally move from the village as soon as convenient. These conflicts, then, are instrumental in furthering the fragmentation of villages under the current condition of pacification.

Given the potentially centrifugal nature of leadership, descent, and residence, warfare functioned to preserve, or at least prolong, the cohesiveness of Mundurucú society. The chief was able to maintain his leadership over his linguistically eclectic group of followers through his position as war leader and his complementary role as mediator between them and Brazilian society. To the

121 complex societies are a part of the same social system. Therefore, the moral values of in-groups are commonly extended outward to a considerable degree. Moreover, the ethical norms reflected in everyday social interaction are complicated by class differences and other categories of sub-cultural variation. The individual is an actor in many situations, each of which prescribes rather different modes of behavior. He may be the bearer of several standards of ethics, which become manifest according to the particular status and role context in which he is acting. Our "real," as opposed to "ideal," values are heterogeneous in the extreme.

The complexity of our ethical values arises from the very complexity of the social structure of which they are an integral part. Beyond the realm of situationally desirable behavior, the general ideal value system, or thematic moral values, in Kluckhohn's terms, shows somewhat more uniformity and internal consistency.[1] But they are frequently in conflict with sentiments, which, while less lofty, are just as strongly value charged.

577 Since it is more simple, and because
156 it is less ambivalent, the Munduruc ethic should provide some insight into our own. It varies from our own in degree of intensity of ingroup harmony and outgroup hostility and is perhaps

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[1] Clyde Kluckhohn, "Values and Value-Orientations in the Theory of Action: an Exploration in Definition and Classification" in *Towards a General Theory of Action* (Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils, eds., Cambridge, 1952). [p 550(a)]

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different in kind, for the central theme makes a sharp and conscious dichotomy between desirable behavior within Mundurucú society and toward the outside world. These opposite aspects of their dual ethic did not conflict but served to reinforce each other and are essential parts of an internally self-consistent view of humanity.

The Mundurucú first came to the attention of colonial Brazil as a tribe of dauntless warriors inhabiting the forests and savannah country east of the upper Tapajós River in the state of Pará. Their reputation for unmitigated ferocity and hostility towards other Indian groups and white settlers grew until 1795, when Brazil authorities established peace with them and diverted their energies into attacks on tribes still unpacified. They achieved considerable success in their service as mercenaries, and by the end of the nineteenth century, there were no hostile Indians within hundreds of miles of Mundurucú territory. Mundurucú warfare ended with the general pacification of the region in the beginning of this century, and they now pursue a peaceful existence, hunting, tilling their gardens, and collecting crude rubber for sale to white traders.

Mundurucú warfare represents one side of a dually oriented system of ethical values. If one is to view them from this perspective, they appear, to use the descriptive terminology followed by Ruth Benedict, to be true Dionysians.[3] But the internal social order stressed harmony, cooperation, and

[3] Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (New York, 1946).

[9] non-aggression to an extent compa-
577 rable to the Zuni Indians of Arizona; in this light their culture is Apollonian.

[21] The apparent disparity between these two concepts of desirable conduct towards one's fellow man points to a weakness in the configurational approach of Benedict and others. According to their interpretation, ethics are a part of a central theme which pervades all aspects of any one culture and endows it with a total and unique pattern. If major ethical themes are analyzed, on the other hand, as being an integrated and integrative part of the social structure, moral values can be related in a functional and pluralistic way to the total culture. Such a dual system of ethics, when viewed functionally, does not have to show ideational consistency, for its rationality lies in the structure of the society and, ultimately, of the culture.

[16] The major unifying theme of the Munduruc\u00fa view of humanity lies in the division which they make, explicitly and verbally, between those who are Munduruc\u00fa and those who are not. Only the former are called "people," while the latter are referred to categorically as "outlanders." In times
[20] past, all "outlanders" were considered to be enemies and proper objects of attack.

This is not a racial or genetic concept; the name "outlander" is fre-
[17] quently applied today to many fellow tribesmen who have adopted white men's ways to such an extent that they no longer operate within the closed circle of Munduruc\u00fa society. Further-

more, children were captured from other tribes and raised as Munduruců without prejudice. To adult "outlanders" of either sex, however, the Munduruců gave no quarter; the enemy was summarily dispatched and the head severed and taken as a trophy.

The taking of the trophy head was not an end in itself, although it did serve to bring glory to the successful warrior. The enemy head became the subject of a series of ceremonies and ritualistic observances which had as their object the furtherance of the material well-being of all the "people." Beyond this, the Munduruců derived great pride from their collective strength, and, even today, the older men speak of their warrior days with animation and no little nostalgia.

The establishment of peaceful and symbiotic relations with the whites added a further dimension to the values connected with warfare, which the Munduruců now pursued as paid allies of the Brazilians. Identification with the cause of the whites and attraction to the material delights of Western culture gave the Munduruců a "civilizing" mission. They fought only against the "outlanders of the forest," the "savage" Indians, and they construed their role to be one of forceful pacification of these recalcitrants. This added goal provided a rationale for the acceptance of the white man and his culture and served to smooth relations between the two groups during the acculturative process. The means used to attain the new ends were traditional. Enemy villages were

burned, men and women killed and decapitated, and children stolen.

It has been said that, although individual warriors sought glory, the primary purpose of war was social and only secondarily the gratification of individual egos. The patterns of boasting and vainglory common among North American Indians of the high plains were absent among the Mundurucú. A young man who made great claims of prowess was pushed to the fore during the actual attack as a means of suppressing ego-assertion and not to validate it.

The suppression of individual interests in favor of those of the collectivity of Mundurucú is consistent with the dual ethic and world-view of this war-oriented society. The joy and pride that they obtained from external aggression is matched only by the horror aroused by internal strife. A Mundurucú man never struck another in anger. If dissension arose, the principals temporarily avoided each other rather than show open hostility. Intra-group tensions did exist for a variety of causes, among which rivalry over women and fear of sorcery were predominant. The culture provided few internal cathartic mechanisms for latent aggression, and, in fact, it enjoined social harmony most positively.

The execution of sorcerers was the only situation in which drastic action was taken against another Mundurucú, and the decision to kill the suspected witch had to be taken by the group as a whole. Sorcery and accusations of sorcery were common in all villages, and the subject was so feared that pro-

ple were loathe to even speak of it. Interestingly, the sorcerer was not thought to practice his art against particular individuals, but was believed to make and disperse evil spirits which might attack anyone with whom they came into contact. A general malevolence was said to pervade the sorcerer; he was simply "angry at everything."

Sorcery provides interesting insights into the mechanisms by which the Munduruc ethic was maintained and the dangerous forces which they believed to be inherent in man and nature kept in check. While the practice of black magic may be considered as a covert channel for the latent aggressions of the sorcerer, only persons who had inherited shamanistic power were able to manipulate the evil forces. But the locus of sorcery and its punishment was social and not individual. Just as black magic was directed towards society, at large, so was the ultimate function of retribution of importance to the well-being of the social system. The universe of the Munduruc was permeated with potentially harmful supernatural beings and forces, which could be appeased and controlled with proper techniques, and the killing of the sorcerer was a personalized means towards this important end. Furthermore, the generalized anti-social tendencies attributed to the sorcerer were a projection of similar suppressed emotions carried by the population. The destruction of the practitioner of black magic was effectively the destruction of centrifugal tendencies within the society.

Internal harmony within the house-

hold and within the village were thought to be a necessary part of social and economic life. The men of the village as a whole hunted and cleared forest for gardens in cooperation, and the women of the large, extended family-household carried out their tasks in unity. Foods were shared among house members and by all the people of the village. The individual and the biological family of man, wife, and children had no independent existence external to their roles within the extended family and the village.

Cooperation and collectivism were recognized as positive, desirable values. A Mundurucú would be ashamed to unstintingly deny goods or services to his fellows. The actual extent and mode of mutual obligations were determined in specific situations by the roles connected with kinship status, but beyond this, the central ethical theme stressed generosity, hospitality, and aid between all Mundurucú.

The suppression of individual strivings is manifest in the total lack of patterns of competition or ego-assertion within Mundurucú culture. A Mundurucú man never strove to prove himself the better of others in any situation. An individual took pride in recognition as a proficient hunter, a valiant warrior, or a repository of lore, but he did not openly and competitively seek such honors for their own sake. It is to be noted, also, that all of these goals were of value to the society which benefitted by it.

Although prestige was attainable through the above accomplishments, it was not considered good for a man

554 to stand too far above his fellows. A
156 Munduruçú never boasted of his
577 achievements, nor would he compare himself to others. In fact, it is most difficult to elicit any sort of comparative evaluation of the moral worth of particular individuals from any Munduruçú.

659 The prevailing tone of Munduruçú
577 values is perpetuated in the modern trade situation, for Munduruçú do not [64] make commercial transactions among themselves. Trade with whites is expected and sought, but those Munduruçú who conduct trade with their fellows as employees of the whites and on behalf of them are recognized to operate outside the ethical system and attract considerable antagonism. Thus, the modern economic ethic of the Munduruçú is colored by the same dualism as existed in their warrior period.

15. The duality of Munduruçú ethics
577 is closely associated with the institutional core or nexus of the culture. Hostility towards the outer world goes beyond mere distrust and suspicion; it is a positive assertion and celebration of the integrity and cohesiveness of the society. While acting as an escape-valve [72] for intra-social aggressions, warfare served to produce tensions which, paradoxically, contributed towards maintaining balance in the social structure. [75] Witchcraft may be said to have functioned in much the same way.

15. Manly virtues were esteemed in
577 Munduruçú culture, and hunting ability was valued second only to strength in war. Male unity in a hostile world was expressed in the semi-military or-

[p. 577(2)]

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[5] ganization of the men's house, which
• 577 also formed a focus for male social participation. Cooperation in the econ-
[74] omy was elaborated far beyond the minimum necessary for effective exploitation of the environment; warfare
[72] was pursued beyond the requirements of security and its overt magico-religious purposes.

War and fraternity were ritualistic in nature. The relationship between them was causal in the sense that they were interdependent: intense militarism was made possible by male cohesiveness and male cohesiveness was fostered by warfare. Munduruc\u00fa society was welded by kinship and the ethic of harmony and cooperation. No
[73] commitments were owed to those outside the system: the humanity of others was recognized, but it entailed no duties. To have extended the intense moral obligations between Munduruc\u00fa to persons outside the system would have effectively vitiated and devitalized it.

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[p. 574 (a)]

[pp. 574 (a) - end not processed for the files. - Analyst]

Like all people, the Mundurucú are, to an extent, prestige-seekers, but there are cultural differences in the ratings of status. The traditional culture placed no value upon material possessions, and, although this was slowly changing, Bibel's tastes were inordinate and clearly derived from his experience among the Brazilians. In thus violated a value standard set at the same time offended the entire community by self-consciously and openly trying to raise himself above his fellows.

Bibel not only misunderstood the ends of Mundurucú prestige but he also misunderstood the means for their attainment. The primary rule, and the one to most frequently violated, was that one should not seek prestige but let it come to him naturally. For example, bravery in war was highly valued but the posture of bravado was ridiculed. A coward was relegated to the lowest end of the status scale, but one who boasted of the damage he intended to inflict upon the enemy in the coming battle was ridiculed and placed in the vanguard of the attack. To attain prestige a man should be modest and unassuming, while observing all the traditional expectations of what constitutes valued behavior. But primarily, he should act always as if he had only the collective well-being and goals in mind. Bibel's braggadocio, individualism, and competitiveness had violated every rule of the game, and he was only dislike and contempt, rather than the esteem and power he wanted so badly.

Disturbing though all this was to the delicate adjustment of Mundurucú social structure and contrary though his behavior was to the values that bound this adjustment, Bibel had committed the cardinal error. He had allowed his grievances against certain individuals and groups to come out into the open and allegiances emerged for and against him that cut across both village and clan-linked role constituents. Headmilliers and leiant factions are part of the tribal life of the Mundurucú, but they are carefully represented as requisite for the functioning of Mundurucú society. The average Mundurucú is well-trained in disguising aggression and in preventing the blast face of neutrality, but Bibel's non assimilation was in part derived from Brazilian and was not adjusted to the functional needs of the Indian society. Like any animal, he had gone aware to feel aggrieved. His error was in openly objecting to the offense against him, a normal course for a Brazilian outside but not for a Mundurucú within.

Bibel's alienation from Mundurucú society induced severe anxiety and intensified his quest for a favorable identity. He sought this through his role of chief of the village of Cabitutu. The contemporary Mundurucú chieftainship must be understood as a hereditary role. The dependency of the Indians on manufactured goods, obtained through the sale of wild rubber, has given the Brazilian traders a position of great influence among them, which they exercise through the chief. When the trader wants increased production he tells the chief, who then exhorts his followers to greater effort. Correspondingly, the chief acts as bargaining agent for the village in trade negotiations, and the people interpret his role to be in large part that of their representative to the outer world. If the trader is sufficiently well-established with a village, he can do much to influence the choice of a chief, but since he cannot completely control the patrilineal rule of inheritance of

§5 offense against his first wife, a native daughter of the village, was beyond
577 their endurance. Bibei refused to divorce the new wife, to whom he was greatly
578 attached, but took her to Cabrak where he left her in the care of his father.
[582] He validated his polygyny by pointing to the tradition that this was a prerogative of chiefs.

V

183 This brings us through most of the key features of Ramburai culture and
577 social structure and to the point at which this paper began. And since this
578 is to assume a tragic tale, we will see in this final section how the ring
must inevitably close on Bibei. He had offended all the Ramburai canons of
taste and ethics and had become a source of strain in this small and tightly
knit society. Now the forces of social control became operative and he felt
the heavy pressure of his fellow men.

Having left his pretty bride to the cold coolness of his father's house, Bibei returned to Cabibuk to set matters right and quiet the discontent. But he continued in his arrogant and demanding ways and the sentiments of the villagers became further inflamed, with no small assistance from his first wife and her family. There grew among them a firm determination to kill him, and the intention might have been immediately carried out were it not for his ties in Cabrak. This was an important collective decision by the residents of Cabibuk, for his execution would set off a train of repercussions that would seriously disrupt their relations with Cabrak and with the trader. Moreover, Bibei did not have shamanistic power and the usual post-hoc explanation for the killing of a sentient--that he was a perpetrator of black magic--could not be used in his case. But his continued presence was even more disruptive, and Bibei's life was placed in serious jeopardy.

539 In the meantime, the person of the young wife was not as secure as Bibei
684 thought it would be. Her husband was away and she was a rather wayward girl; whatever restitute she possessed was certainly no match for the insistent attempts upon her body by the men of Cabrak. Soon, all of the men of the village except those prohibited by incest regulations--and there were some exceptions even to this--were enjoying the favors of Bibei's young wife in the underbrush surrounding the village, at the stream, in the forest, in the garden, or wherever they might find her alone. The enthusiasm of the men was understandable from her physical attractiveness, but there was another component to their attentions. Whenever they relayed their exploits to me, the men would express great satisfaction at what they were doing to Bibei, for the Cabrak men, too, disliked Bibei with some intensity. Even in his father's village his presence threatened the smooth tenor of social relations, and he was considered outwardly deviant. But physical sanctions against Bibei would have been impossible in the village in which his father was a chief, and the men of Cabrak attacked his manhood instead. There could be no doubt about the aggressive character of their seductions, nor of its success in dealing a mortal blow to Bibei's prestige by reducing him to a helpless butt of laughter.

Bibei soon heard of the exploits in Cabrak from members of his family and inevitably returned. He made frontal accusations against many of the men and even mentioned my Brazilian assistant (probably correctly) as being among those